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PUBLIC DISCLOSURE COMMISSION

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REPORT/TECHNICAL STUDY:

- I. THE INCREASED COST OF LEGISLATIVE
CAMPAIGNS: 1974 TO 1982
- II. ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION SOURCES,
WASHINGTON STATE LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS,
1974-1978-1982

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I. THE INCREASED COST OF LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS: 1974 TO 1982

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THE INCREASED COST OF LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS: 1974 TO 1982

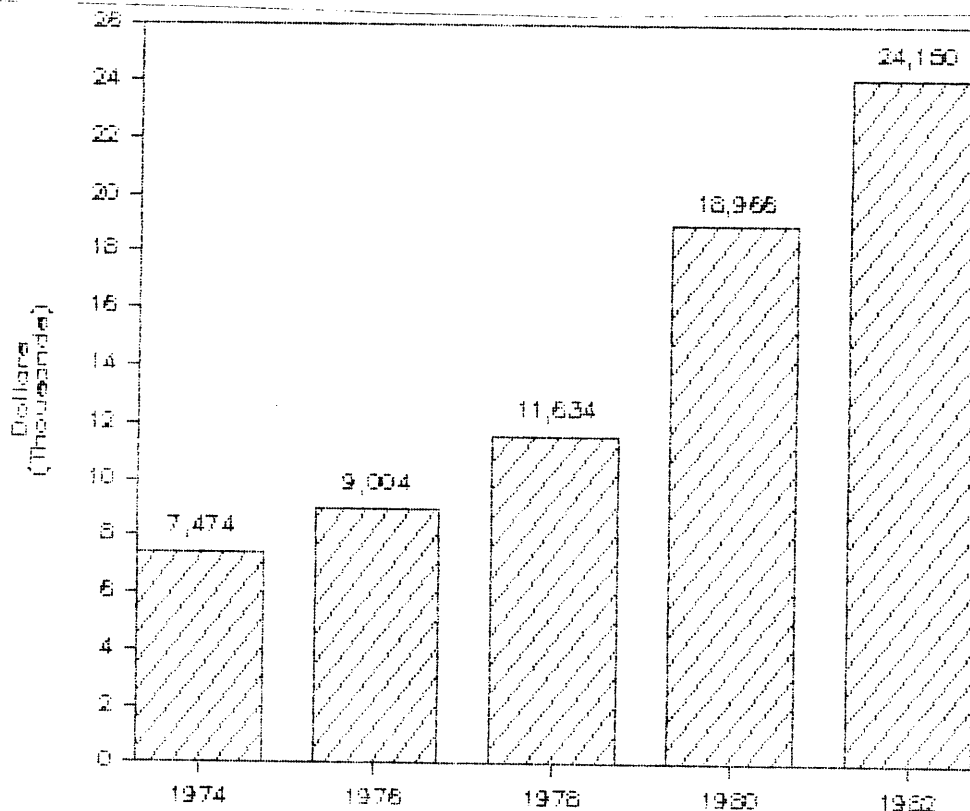
INTRODUCTION: SCOPE OF EXPENDITURE INCREASES

By any measure, the amount of money spent by candidates for the Washington State legislature increased steadily and dramatically during the period between 1974 and 1982.

In 1974, the first regular election year to have campaign contributions and expenditures publicly reported under Initiative 276, total spending by all candidates for the legislature amounted to \$1.57 million. In four years spending had nearly doubled, with \$2.79 million being spent in the campaigns of 1978. This figure was doubled four years later, when the candidates of 1982 reported total expenditures of \$5.58 million.

Combining both house and senate races, the average amount spent by a winning candidate went from \$7,474 in 1974 to \$24,150 in 1982 (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Average amount spent by winning legislative candidates, 1974-1982



The most expensive state senate race of 1974 was in the 44th district, where total spending by candidates Lois North and Fred Dore amounted to \$48,994. In 1982 total spending for a single senate seat reached a high of \$133,967 in the 13th district, with Frank "Tub" Hansen spending \$59,668 and his opponent, Sid Flanagan, spending \$74,299. Their spending was 2.7 times the amount spent in 1974's most expensive race.

The most expensive house race of 1974 was for position 2 in the 26th district where total spending by four candidates amounted to \$41,316, including the \$17,864 spent by the winner, Ron Hanna. In 1982 the highest amount spent was in the 38th district where combined spending by general election candidates Dick King and Bob Overstreet and by two primary losers amounted to \$108,713 or 2.6 times the record house amount of 1974. The \$100,000 level was also reached in 1982 in the 34th district where two incumbent house members, Bruce Addison and Georgette Valle, contested for position 1, spending \$59,272 and \$48,256 respectively. Incidentally, this 34th district position has been the costliest over the years from 1974 through 1982, with expenditures totalling \$266,946 over five elections, compared with a statewide average of \$119,351.

Inflation alone does not account for these increases. In actual dollars, the amount spent in the legislative campaigns of 1982 was 3.56 times the amount spent eight years previously. Using the Department of Commerce consumer price index to convert amounts to 1974 dollars, spending in 1982 was still almost double (1.83 times) that of 1974.

In the course of this study it was found that the prices of those goods and services that campaign dollars are used to purchase--advertising, printing, and postage, for example--have increased more during this period than have the expenditure classes used in compiling consumer price indexes or implicit price deflators. Using a "Campaign Cost Index" developed in this Public Disclosure Commission research study to account for the effects of such price increases, legislative campaign spending of 1982 in constant dollars was 1.75 times the amount spent in 1974. (Table 1)

Figure 2. Legislative campaign expenditures.

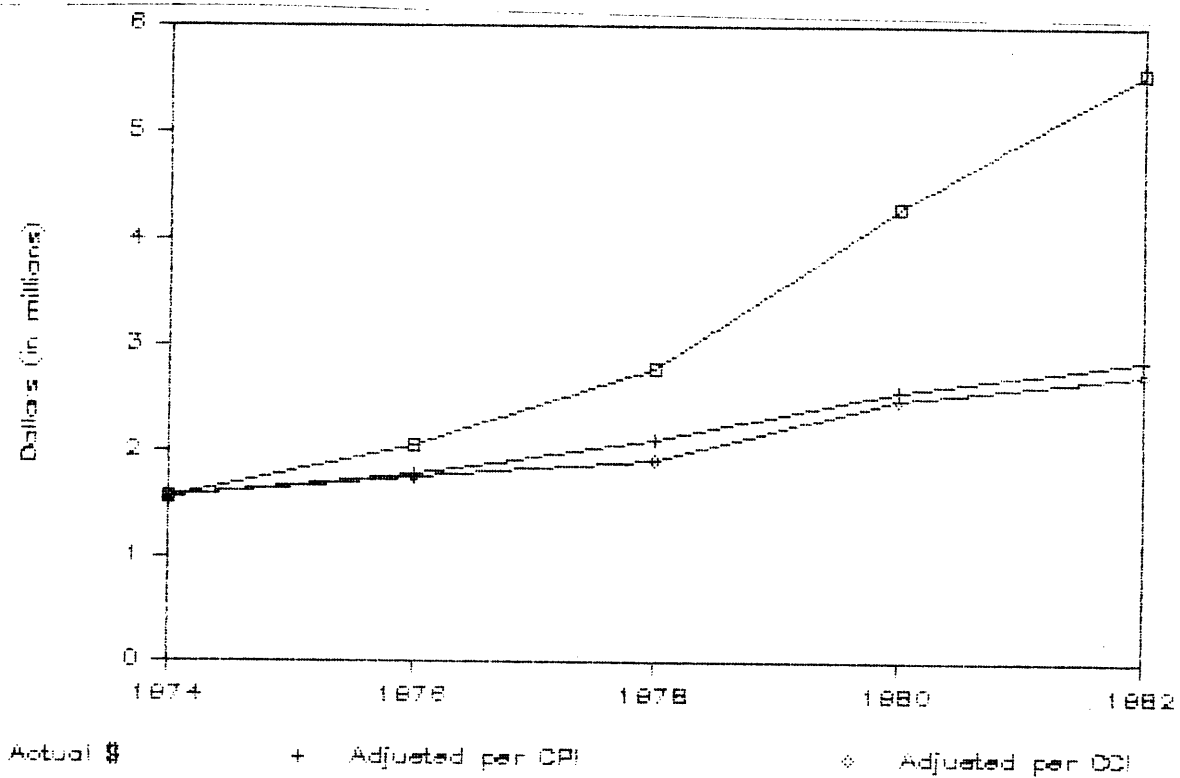


Table 1. Legislative campaign expenditures, 1974-1982
Actual dollars and as adjusted for inflation
(in millions of dollars)

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
Expenditures in actual dollars	\$1.566	\$2.067	\$2.787	\$4.294	\$5.575
Expenditures adjusted to 1974 dollar equivalents per consumer price index		\$1.797	\$2.111	\$2.571	\$2.859
Expenditures adjusted to 1974 dollar equivalents per campaign cost index		\$1.751	\$1.922	\$2.482	\$2.733

This study is an attempt to identify the factors contributing to such a dramatic increase in political campaign spending. Prior research efforts, both by the commission and by others, have usually focused on the contributions side of election financing, as, for example, the "Who Gave? Who Got? How Much?" reports of independent researcher Jolene Unsoeld on the 1974 and 1976 legislative campaigns and the commission's Election Financing Fact Books of 1978, 1980, and 1982. In this study it was the expenditure reports filed by candidates and their committees that were scrutinized, changing the questions to "Who spent? How much? What for?"

EXPENDITURE ANALYSIS

Selection of districts. For this study a detailed tabulation was made of the expenditures reported by all general election candidates in the years 1974 through 1982 in nine state senate districts and for 15 positions in the state house of representatives. In two cases where a candidate had no opposition from the other major party, expenditures by the losing primary candidate were also included. The selection of districts and positions to be included was not made at random. Races were selected to include some where expenditures have been close to average, others that were consistently lower than average. Other races were chosen because of their high increases in campaign spending and others because expenditure amounts were relatively stable over the 1974-1982 period.

Selection of districts also depended on the adequacy of the disclosure reports that were filed to supply the data needed for the study. Some districts were excluded because one or more candidates had used the "abbreviated reporting" option, which allows those who spend no more than \$1,000 to file reports without detailing contributions or expenditures.

The house elections cover five election years. Because state senate terms are for four years, with 24 or 25 of the 49 positions on the ballot every two years, the state senate races included in the study cover three election years--1974, 1978, and 1982.

Spending by the house candidates included in the study amounted to 19.3 percent of the total spent by all house candidates during this period. Expenditures by senate candidates included represent 27.5 percent of all spending for senate campaigns.

Analysis of expenditures. The disclosure law requires candidate committees to report all expenditures of \$25 or more--the amounts, dates, purposes and recipients of each such expenditure. Reports are filed at regular intervals on PDC Form C-4 and Schedule A. All expenditure reports filed by the candidates included in the sample were examined and from the names of vendors or expenditure purposes listed it was possible to tabulate the expenditures in the following categories:

1. Printing. Included all printing, copying, and photography costs other than those that clearly could be attributed to another category.

2. Postage. Bulk permits as well as purchases of stamps and postage.

3. Newspaper advertising.

4. Radio and television advertising.

5. Signs and billboards. Also included items such as balloons and reader boards used to put the candidate's name in view of passersby.

6. Consulting and personal services. Included agency fees. Also included services of volunteers when a value was reported as an in-kind expenditure.

7. Lists and mailing labels.

8. Telephone.

9. Surveys and polls.

10. Fund event costs. (When expenditures for such items as catering or hall rental could be identified specifically as fund event-related.)

11. All other expenditures. Included expenditures below the reportable threshold and expenditures that were not adequately described. A record was kept of expenditures in the form of headquarters rent, equipment purchases, and transfers to other candidates or political committees, but these expenditures were included in this "catch-all" category in the final tabulations.

In-kind contributions received were treated the same as monetary expenditures. Reported expenditures that were actually returns of contributions or repayment of loans were not counted as expenditures.

Totals for each category were compiled by candidate, by district, and by year.

TOTALS AND TRENDS

In the fifteen house and nine state senate positions included in this study, total expenditures by all candidates over the 1974-to-1982 period amounted to \$3,478,052. As shown in Table 2,

Table 2. Total expenditures by categories,
senate and house samples, 1974-1982

Category	Senate	House	Total	% of total
Printing	287,671	572,933	860,604	24.7%
Postage	200,777	413,389	614,166	17.7%
Newspaper advertising	201,034	394,565	595,599	17.1%
Radio/television	130,109	281,182	411,291	11.8%
Signs and billboards	76,139	143,430	219,569	6.3%
Consulting/personal services	102,622	119,255	221,877	6.4%
Labels and lists	17,750	30,630	48,380	1.4%
Telephone	9,877	13,159	23,036	0.7%
Surveys	10,984	6,150	17,134	0.5%
Fund event costs	47,113	66,753	113,866	3.3%
Other	119,885	232,645	352,530	10.1%
Totals	\$1,203,961	\$2,274,091	\$3,478,052	

about one fourth of this amount was used to pay for printing, about one sixth for postage, and another one sixth for newspaper advertising. Of the remaining expenditure categories, 12 percent went for radio and television, 6 percent for signs, and another 6 percent for consultants and personal services.

Total expenditures by election years in the house races are shown in Table 3 and for the senate races in Table 4. There

Table 3. Total expenditures by category and year,
House sample

Category	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	Totals
Printing	50,070	74,679	87,094	169,357	191,733	572,933
Postage	33,347	40,871	76,946	129,317	132,908	413,389
Newspaper advertising	41,076	60,481	73,426	106,203	113,379	394,565
Radio/television	17,276	33,926	46,061	80,187	103,732	281,182
Signs and billboards	16,297	19,616	24,697	37,348	45,472	143,430
Consulting/personal services	2,672	9,556	16,082	40,853	50,092	119,255
Labels and lists	1,884	2,930	5,165	7,188	13,463	30,630
Telephone	445	376	2,423	2,314	7,601	13,159
Surveys	0	1,000	150	1,079	3,921	6,150
Fund event costs	4,345	6,962	13,292	22,088	20,066	66,753
Other	15,065	29,067	32,310	58,106	98,097	232,645
Totals	\$182,477	\$279,464	\$377,646	\$654,040	\$780,464	\$2,274,091

Table 4. Total expenditures by category and year,
Senate sample

Category	1974	1978	1982	Totals
Printing	44,841	71,408	171,422	287,671
Postage	31,092	68,562	101,123	200,777
Newspaper advertising	31,431	71,020	98,583	201,034
Radio/television	9,166	42,964	77,979	130,109
Signs and billboards	13,509	27,230	35,400	76,139
Consulting/personal services	7,778	29,709	65,135	102,622
Labels and lists	2,472	3,924	11,354	17,750
Telephone	111	1,545	8,221	9,877
Surveys	153	1,622	9,209	10,984
Fund event costs	4,901	7,539	34,673	47,113
Other	14,538	31,492	73,855	119,885
Totals	\$159,992	\$357,015	\$686,954	\$1,203,961

was very little difference between house and senate candidates as to patterns of spending. House candidates spent a slightly larger share of their money (12.4%) on radio and television than did the senate candidates (10.8%), and senate candidates spent more for consulting and personal services (8.5%) than did the house candidates (5.2%). In all other major expenditure categories, percentages spent by candidates in the two houses were close to identical.

Any trends or changes in emphasis in campaign spending can be found by looking at the percentages, rather than dollar amounts, for the campaign years. These percentages are found in Table 5 for house candidates and Table 6 for senate candidates.

Table 5. Category percentages of total expenditures,
House sample

Category	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	Totals
Printing	27.4%	26.7%	23.1%	25.9%	24.6%	25.2%
Postage	18.3%	14.6%	20.4%	19.8%	17.0%	18.2%
Newspaper advertising	22.5%	21.6%	19.4%	16.2%	14.5%	17.4%
Radio/television	9.5%	12.1%	12.2%	12.3%	13.3%	12.4%
Signs and billboards	8.9%	7.0%	6.5%	5.7%	5.8%	6.3%
Consulting/personal services	1.5%	3.4%	4.3%	6.2%	6.4%	5.2%
Labels and lists	1.0%	1.0%	1.4%	1.1%	1.7%	1.3%
Telephone	0.2%	0.1%	0.6%	0.4%	1.0%	0.6%
Surveys	0.0%	0.4%	.0%	0.2%	0.5%	0.3%
Fund event costs	2.4%	2.5%	3.5%	3.4%	2.6%	2.9%
Other	8.3%	10.4%	8.6%	8.9%	12.6%	10.2%

Table 6. Category percentages of total expenditures,
Senate sample

Category	1974	1978	1982	Totals
Printing	28.0%	20.0%	25.0%	23.9%
Postage	19.4%	19.2%	14.7%	16.7%
Newspaper advertising	19.6%	19.9%	14.4%	16.7%
Radio/television	5.7%	12.0%	11.4%	10.8%
Signs and billboards	8.4%	7.6%	5.2%	6.3%
Consulting/personal services	4.9%	8.3%	9.5%	8.5%
Labels and lists	1.5%	1.1%	1.7%	1.5%
Telephone	0.1%	0.4%	1.2%	0.8%
Surveys	0.1%	0.5%	1.3%	0.9%
Fund event costs	3.1%	2.1%	5.0%	3.9%
Other	9.1%	8.8%	10.8%	10.0%

The figures suggest that smaller shares of the campaign dollars have been going to newspaper advertising and signs while the money going to radio and television and to consultants and personal services has been increasing since 1974. Combining figures reported by both house and senate candidates, the money spent for newspaper advertising has declined from a share of 21 percent in 1974 to 14 percent in 1982 and for signs from 8.7 percent in 1974 to 5.5 percent in 1982. In 1982, for the first time, candidates spent more money on postage than on newspaper advertising. Meanwhile, radio and television advertising took only 8 percent in the 1974 campaigns and rose to 12 percent in 1982.

Fees for consultants and personal services went from 3 percent of all expenditures in 1974 to 8 percent in 1982. In 1974 only two candidates in the 15 house districts reported any payments to consultants, but in 1982 there were 14 candidates in the same districts reporting consulting expenditures. There was a clear connection between the amount spent in this category and the total amount spent, with the districts with the highest total expenditures also showing a larger share of their money going to consultants and personal services. In the four districts with the lowest total campaign expenditures, a total of \$9,566 (2.7%) was spent in this category, while in the four districts with the highest total expenditures, \$83,505 (8.1%) went for consultants and personal services.

Variations in expenditure patterns. The figures shown in Tables 3 through 6 are overall totals in the sample group. Actual expenditure patterns varied among districts in the sample and among individual candidates. Radio/television expenditures, for example, ranged from practically nothing in the 32nd and 34th district senate races to as high as 28 and 29 percent in the 6th district senate races and in house districts 3-2 and 14-1. The 32nd and 34th districts are inside the city of Seattle, the 3rd and 6th districts are in the city of Spokane and southwest Spokane County, and the 14th district includes the city of Yakima. Other districts with relatively high radio/television expenditures were house position 8-1 in Benton County and the senate race in the 13th district, which stretches across the center of the state. (District boundaries mentioned are as they existed during most of the period of this study, prior to 1981-82 redistricting.)

Although radio/television advertising was a leading factor in the overall increase in campaign spending, there were some districts, usually in or near large cities, where radio or television did not appear to be cost-effective means of reaching the voters, and the candidates were more inclined to rely on the mail to deliver their messages. Candidates for the senate in the 47th district, which takes in a large portion of rural King County, spent more for postage--\$29,999--than for any other category, while spending one tenth as much--\$3,001--for radio and television. Over the years from 1974 through 1982, candidates in the 34th district for the state senate seat and the one house position included in the sample spent \$121,596 on postage and only \$1,564 for radio and television. One of the 34th district winning candidates in 1982 spent \$1 on postage for every vote he received in the general election. The highest printing expenditures in the sample were also found in the 34th district campaigns and in the 32nd district senate races. (Compact urban districts are also places where leafleting and doorbelling are frequently used to distribute a candidate's message, but the services of volunteer doorbellers are seldom reportable as campaign contributions or expenditures and are therefore outside the scope of this study.)

In the sample group of 24 races, there were eight where the amount spent for radio and television was less than five percent of total expenditures. In those districts it was an increased use of printing and postage that drove up total expenditures by 275 percent between 1974 and 1982.

Other geographic differences in campaign expenditures were noted with respect to newspaper advertising. Candidates for three neighboring house positions in northwest Washington--10-2, 40-1, and 42-1--spent more for newspaper advertising than for any other single category, with percentages of 28 to 30 percent. On the other hand, the lowest newspaper advertising percentages--10 percent or less--were in Spokane districts 3-2 and 4-1 and in Seattle's house position 34-1.

The observations above on campaign expenditure patterns are based only on those districts included within the study sample and may or may not be applicable in similar districts that did not fall into the sample group.

COMPETITIVENESS

Without any question, more intense competition for legislative positions accounts for some of the increased expenditure amounts. For example, the incumbent representative in District 9 position 2 had no Republican primary opposition and no Democrat opponents in 1974, 1976, 1978, and 1980, and spent a total of slightly more than \$2,000 altogether in those four election years. When he chose not to run again in 1982, five Republicans and one Democrat filed for the seat, and the general election contest was one of the closest in the state. Total spending by the six candidates in that single year amounted to more than \$45,000. Another example is position 2 in the 3rd district. Representative William May, unopposed, spent \$1,437 in 1974 and \$942 in 1976. In 1978 he was challenged by Margaret Leonard and his spending rose to \$18,448 while his opponent spent \$13,896. Two years later May spent \$24,746 and this time was defeated in a very close election by Leonard, who spent \$30,204. In turn, Leonard was defeated in 1982 by Dennis Dellwo, who spent \$33,030 to Leonard's \$34,626.

On the average during the 1974-1982 period, when a house position that had been uncontested found two or more candidates in the race at the next election, the total amount of money spent was 4.8 times as much as the amount that had been spent in the previous election in the same district by an unopposed candidate. The average open seat race, with no incumbent in the race, produced expenditures 7.8 times the amount spent in the prior election when an incumbent was on the ballot. A decline in the number of uncontested races and an increase in the number of open seats are important factors contributing to the increase in total campaign spending.

Table 7 presents three indicators of competitiveness over the period of five election campaigns covered in this study. While the three indicators have not moved steadily in one direction during this time as have the campaign expenditure figures, the year 1982 clearly had fewer uncontested positions, more open positions, and a greater number of close elections than any of the four previous election years.

Table 7. Indicators of competitiveness,
legislative elections, 1974-1982

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
Uncontested positions	26	22	30	17	6
Open seats	14	21	15	18	33
Number of close elections(1)	32	22	20	26	43

(1) Winner received less than 54.5% of votes cast

Going into the 1980 elections, the state house of representatives was evenly divided--49 Democratic members and 49 Republicans. The number of uncontested positions in the house was down to less than half as many as in 1978, the election year that produced the tie. House election expenditures jumped from \$2.8 million in 1978 to \$4.3 million in 1980--this 54 percent increase being the largest recorded from one election year to another.

THE CAMPAIGN COST INDEX (CCI)

It should be evident that the 256 percent increase in legislative campaign spending that occurred between 1974 and 1982 does not indicate an increase of 256 percent in the real level of expenditures, but that inflation has also been a factor in setting new expenditure records every election year. The prices of the items in the candidates' "market basket" also rose during the eight-year period. For example, one dollar bought ten first-class postage stamps in 1974 but would buy only five stamps in 1982, and there were comparable increases in other postal rates. Display advertising space that sold for \$4.38 an inch in one typical daily newspaper in 1974 was selling for \$9.80 an inch in 1982.

To estimate the effects of such price increases on campaign budgets, a "campaign cost index" was created as a part of this study. A history of price figures was gathered from a variety of sources: rate books and other materials from daily and weekly newspaper trade associations, the monthly publication **Marketing & Media Decisions**, the U. S. Postal Service, the state printer and commercial printers. For each of the five major categories of expenditures--which together took 78 percent of the money spent on the campaigns studied--a biennial cost index figure was computed, with the year 1974 at 100 as the base. The Department of Commerce implicit price deflators for gross national product, converted to a 1974 base of 100, were used to estimate the rate of increase for the remaining 22 percent of expenditures. After weighing each of the separate categories proportionately, an overall campaign cost index was computed. (Table 8) The overall campaign cost index figures result in an estimate that it took \$204 in 1982 to buy the same campaign goods and services that \$100 purchased in 1974. For those years and the intervening election years the overall campaign index figures are as follows:

Year	Index
1974	100
1976	118
1978	145
1980	173
1982	204

Table 8. Campaign Cost Index

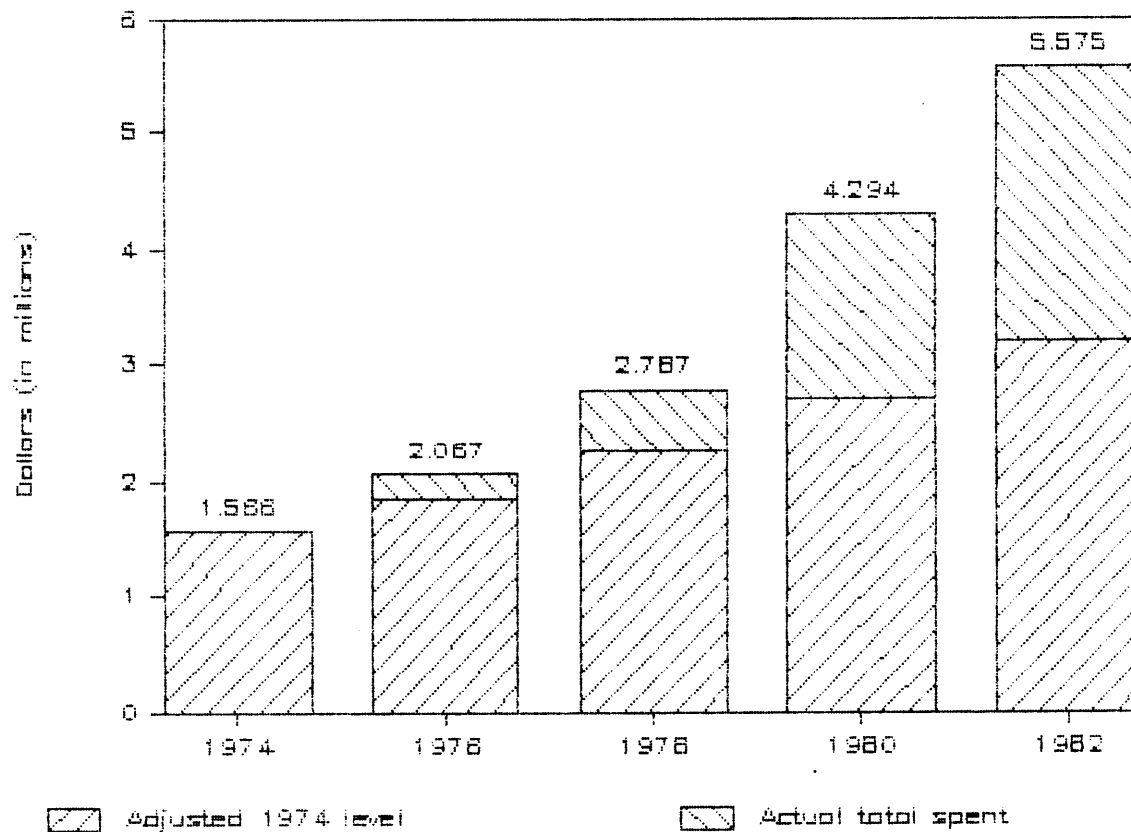
EXPENDITURE CATEGORY (Weight)	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
Printing (25)	100	122	161	197	214
Postage (18)	100	116	151	151	182
Newspaper advertising (17)	100	125	150	194	246
Radio/television (12)	100	109	124	160	188
Signs and billboards (6)	100	116	141	174	218
All others (22)	100	115	131	155	180
CAMPAIGN COST INDEX	100	118	145	173	204

These campaign cost indexes show figures only slightly higher than the consumer price indexes for the same years. Adjusted to a 1974 base of 100, the 1982 CPI was 195. As the comparable figure for the campaign cost index was 204, it appears that inflation in the major components of political campaigns was not much greater than could be attributed to the more general consumer price index.

The campaign cost index is not a precise measure, but it provides for the first time in the field of campaign finance study in this state an approximate guide to converting dollar figures from different years to a roughly comparable basis. Except for postage, the actual prices of its various components vary from community to community and the general averages used here may not apply in every locality.

Extent of increase in total expenditures. One application of the index is to determine whether or not the observed increase in total expenditures represents a real increase in the level of campaign spending. Reported campaign expenditures by all candidates for the state legislature amounted to \$1,566,112 in 1974 and were \$5,575,250 in 1982. This \$4 million difference is an apparent increase of 256 percent in actual dollars. However, since the index suggests that the 1982 amount is the equivalent of \$2,732,966 in terms of 1974 dollars, the real increase is reduced to \$1,166,854--or 75 percent. Another way of putting it would be that after accounting for the impact of inflation, campaign spending in 1982 was still 75 percent higher than it was for the same races in 1974. Had price increases, represented by the CCI, been the only factors driving up costs, the amount spent in 1982 would have been \$3.195 million instead of \$5.575 million.

Figure 3. Total Legislative Campaign Expenditures
Over 1974 Expenditure Level



In Figure 3, the bottom section of each bar represents the number of inflated dollars that would have been required to maintain campaign spending at the 1974 level--to purchase the same amount of goods and services that \$1.566 million purchased in 1974. The top section represents what might be called new expenditures--dollars that were spent in addition to those required to maintain the 1974 levels of spending.

Using the CCI to adjust, the "real" spending increases every two years have been as follows:

From 1974 to 1976:	12%
From 1976 to 1978:	10%
From 1978 to 1980:	29%
From 1980 to 1982:	10%

It is of some interest to note that the greatest relative increase occurred in 1980, when total expenditures were \$4.29 million, compared with \$2.79 million two years previously.

Extent of increase in expenditure categories. The campaign cost index can also be used to measure the "real" increases in the various major expenditure categories in the sampled districts: to see if the added dollars were used to buy more of the same things or if they were used in different ways. Applying the appropriate index factor to each of the major expenditure categories shows that, in all cases, the 1982 expenditures were higher than could be attributed to price inflation alone. (Table 9)

Table 9. Expenditures by category, 1974 and 1982; dollar increase and adjusted percentage increase, sample group.

Category	1974	1982	Dollar Increase	'Real' Increase
Printing	94,911	363,155	268,244	79%
Postage	64,439	234,031	169,592	100%
Newspaper advertising	72,507	211,962	139,455	19%
Radio/television	26,442	181,711	155,269	266%
Signs and billboards	29,806	80,872	51,066	24%
Consulting/personal services	10,450	115,227	104,777	513%
Labels and lists	4,356	24,817	20,461	217%
Telephone	556	15,822	15,266	1481%
Surveys	153	13,130	12,977	4668%
Others	38,849	226,691	187,842	

Among the five big-ticket items that constitute approximately 80 percent of all campaign spending, the real increase in radio/television was the highest--266 percent. The amount spent for postage in 1982--\$234,031--represented an actual doubling of the amount spent in 1974--\$64,439--once the adjustment for rate increases is made. The smallest increase, according to this adjustment, was in the category of newspaper advertising, where the increase was computed to be 19 percent.

Using the implicit price deflator as the standard for adjusting increases in the minor expenditure categories, the money spent on surveys and polls apparently increased by 4668 percent in going from a total of \$153 to \$13,130. The apparent increase in consulting and personal services was 513 percent.

Total legislative campaign spending in 1978 was \$1,220,000 more than it had been four years previously. Of those additional dollars, \$743,000--61 percent--could be attributed to price increases alone and the remaining 39 percent to increased use of the various media, especially radio/television and postage (Table 10). For the following four-year span, when campaign spending doubled from \$2,787,000 in 1978 to \$5,575,000 in 1982, price increases accounted for 41 percent of the additional spending. A higher level of spending on postage and printing accounted for another 29 percent of the additional dollars (Table 11). Newspaper advertising expenditures in 1982 were slightly less than could be attributed to the price increase index, suggesting that the candidates of 1982, as a group, used no more newspaper advertising than the candidates of 1978 used.

Table 10. Estimated distribution of legislative campaign expenditures
of 1978 in excess of 1974 expenditures

	Attributable to Increased Prices		Attributable to Increased Usage	
	\$	%	\$	%
Printing	264,800	21.7%	(97,500)	-8.0%
Postage	150,300	12.3%	107,100	8.8%
Newspaper advertising	165,800	13.6%	50,600	4.1%
Radio and television advertising	29,000	2.4%	187,800	15.4%
Signs and billboards	55,900	4.6%	4,800	0.4%
Consulting and personal services	14,800	1.2%	111,100	9.1%
Lists and mailing labels	6,200	0.5%	8,400	0.7%
Telephone	800	0.1%	11,700	1.0%
Surveys and polls	200	.0%	5,800	0.5%
Fund event costs	13,100	1.1%	23,600	1.9%
Other expenditures	42,000	3.4%	64,700	5.3%
TOTALS	742,900	60.8%	478,100	39.2%

Table 11. Estimated distribution of legislative campaign expenditures of 1982 in excess of 1978 expenditures

	Attributable to Increased Prices		Attributable to Increased Usage	
	\$	%	\$	%
Printing	198,400	7.1%	580,000	20.8%
Postage	115,900	4.2%	221,200	7.9%
Newspaper advertising	350,700	12.6%	(93,400)	-3.3%
Radio and television advertising	175,600	6.3%	177,000	6.3%
Signs and billboards	108,300	3.9%	1,900	0.1%
Consulting and personal services	64,300	2.3%	199,800	7.2%
Lists and mailing labels	12,800	0.5%	47,000	1.7%
Telephone	5,600	0.2%	39,500	1.4%
Surveys and polls	2,500	0.1%	40,700	1.5%
Fund event costs	29,200	1.0%	99,800	3.6%
Other expenditures	89,600	3.2%	321,700	11.5%
TOTALS	1,152,900	41.4%	1,635,200	58.6%

Political action committees. Although the primary focus of this study is on candidates' expenditures rather than on their receipts, the campaign cost index can also be used as a means of comparing political action committee expenditures over the years to see if they have kept pace with, or surpassed, the rate of campaign cost inflation.

There are seven major political action committees whose total contributions and average contribution amounts for the years since 1974 have been tabulated and published in the Public Disclosure Commission's series of Election Financing Fact Books. Their records are shown in Tables 12 and 13. The total dollar

Table 12. Total contributions to legislative campaigns
by seven major PACs, 1974-1982

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
United for Washington	\$94,148	\$140,675	\$162,855	\$348,798	\$306,166
PULSE (Washington Education Association)	\$76,526	\$80,197	\$76,255	\$143,187	\$154,857
Washington Federation of State Employees	\$9,636	\$20,020	\$34,302	\$113,023	\$154,601
Washington State Dental PAC	\$4,700	\$32,175	\$50,470	\$73,825	\$75,375
Washington State Labor Council PPP Committee	\$31,540	\$31,483	\$91,920	\$63,027	\$74,507
Washington Medical PAC	\$15,326	\$23,000	\$21,908	\$32,980	\$50,360
Fair Competition Council	\$33,600	\$39,970	\$41,149	\$52,100	\$46,111

Table 13. Sizes of average contributions to legislative candidates
by seven major PACs, 1974-1982

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982
United for Washington	\$493	\$703	\$1,810	\$4,472	\$3,734
PULSE (Washington Education Association)	\$284	\$429	\$741	\$1,423	\$1,452
Washington Federation of State Employees	\$127	\$147	\$409	\$971	\$1,299
Washington State Dental PAC	\$189	\$362	\$458	\$682	\$737
Washington State Labor Council PPP Committee	\$234	\$186	\$962	\$697	\$756
Washington Medical PAC	\$178	\$232	\$317	\$348	\$380
Fair Competition Council	\$205	\$189	\$394	\$516	\$492

amount of legislative campaign contributions made by the largest of these committees, United for Washington, more than tripled from 1974 to 1982. Total contributions by PULSE, the Washington Education Association political committee, doubled in that period. The amounts contributed by the Washington Federation of State Employees and by the Washington State Dental PAC were 16 times greater in 1982 than in 1974. The size of the average WFSE contribution went from \$127 in 1974 to \$1,299 in 1982, an apparent ten-fold increase.

When the campaign cost index is applied to these totals and averages (Table 14), it is shown that the total amount contributed to legislative campaigns in 1982 by PULSE was practically

Table 14. Comparisons between 1974 and 1982 legislative contributions by seven major PACs.

	1974		1982		'Real' increase in:	
	Total	Avg	Total	Avg	Total	Avg
United for Washington	\$94,148	\$493	\$306,166	\$3,734	59%	271%
PULSE (Washington Education Association)	\$75,526	\$284	\$154,857	\$1,452	-1%	151%
Washington Federation of State Employees	\$9,636	\$127	\$154,601	\$1,299	686%	401%
Washington State Dental PAC	\$4,700	\$189	\$75,375	\$737	686%	91%
Washington State Labor Council PPP Committee	\$31,540	\$234	\$74,507	\$756	16%	58%
Washington Medical PAC	\$15,326	\$178	\$50,360	\$380	61%	5%
Fair Competition Council	\$33,600	\$205	\$46,111	\$492	-33%	18%

Note: "Real" increase indicates difference in purchasing power between 1974 and 1982 amounts after adjusting for inflation per campaign cost index.

"Total" includes contributions to caucus organizations as well as to candidates.

"Avg" is average size of contributions to individual candidates.

the same in purchasing power as the PULSE contributions of 1974. United for Washington's total contributions were 59 percent greater in terms of purchasing power than the organization's 1974 contributions. The WFSE and Dental PAC contributions in 1982 were closer to eight times, rather than ten times, their 1974 contributions.

Despite a dollar increase, the Fair Competition Council's total contributions actually declined by 33 percent.

The average WFSE contribution in 1982 was worth about five times that organization's average 1974 contribution, while the value of the Medical PAC's average 1982 contribution was only a 5 percent increase over 1974.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since the first campaign under the public disclosure law in 1974, campaign expenditures by candidates for the Washington state legislature have steadily increased and at a rate higher than that of inflation. The total spent by all candidates for the legislature was \$1.57 million in 1974, and by 1982 candidates for the same positions reported spending more than three and one half times as much, \$5.58 million. An analysis of expenditures as reported by a selected sample of candidates over the years from 1974 through 1982 supports the following conclusions:

1. An increased level of competition for legislative seats--as measured by the number of contested positions and the number of open seats--is responsible for some of the increased spending on campaigns.

2. Printing costs make up approximately one fourth of the money expended in legislative campaigns, leading all other categories of expenditures in every election year from 1974 through 1982.

3. Among the five major categories of expenditures, radio or television advertising and postage have shown the highest degrees of increase from the 1974 base levels.

4. There is very little difference between senate and house candidates as to the distribution of their expenditures among the major categories of printing, postage, newspaper advertising, radio or television advertising, and signs.

5. In an eight-year period there have been some definite shifts in the way campaign funds have been used. In recent years, the share of available funds going for radio and television time has been increasing while the share going for newspaper advertising has been declining. There has been a sharp increase in the number of candidates reporting some expenditures for consultants. Such expenses, along with those for personal services, polls and surveys, and telephone service, have increased at a faster rate than any of the major expenditure categories.

6. Higher-spending campaigns pay a higher proportion of their funds for consultants or personal services than do lower-spending campaigns.

7. In places where increased use of radio and television did not account for the major share of the increase in campaign spending, it was printing and postage that drove up spending totals.

8. After adjusting for increases in postal rates, the amount of money spent in 1982 to mail campaign materials was double the amount reported in 1974.

9. Prices of the goods and services that candidates purchase have doubled since 1974. A campaign cost index was devised in this study to enable comparisons of expenditure figures from different years. Inflation in the major types of political campaign items--printing, postage and advertising--has been only slightly higher than inflation in the components of the consumer price index.

10. After taking into account the effects of price increases, the amount of money spent by all legislative candidates in 1982 was still 75 percent greater than the amount reported in 1974.

11. Of the leading political action committees that were operating in both 1974 and 1982, the Washington State Dental PAC and the Washington Federation of State Employees have shown the greatest increases in the amount of their total contributions to legislative campaigns relative to their 1974 contributions. The size of the WFSE's average 1982 contributions was five times greater in purchasing power than its average 1974 contribution. Giving by the five other leading PAC's increased at a level lower than the 75 percent level that would match the candidate's "real" increase in spending.

APPENDIX

Total expenditures by categories, 1974-1982
Candidates in selected senate districts

Dist	Printing	Postage	Newspaper Advtgng	Radio/ TV	Signs	Cnslt/ Pers svcs	Lists	Phone	Polls	Fund- raising	Other	Total
6	29,212	20,005	32,636	59,902	23,335	19,846	2,273	5,021	1,441	3,128	11,324	208,123
8	22,491	18,201	31,492	22,536	5,895	21,564	388	440	153	2,575	18,725	144,460
13	48,260	23,530	41,098	33,114	11,932	11,252	763	870	0	11,350	21,217	203,386
21	35,009	21,646	18,869	1,750	11,367	23,520	3,963	116	0	9,455	12,695	138,390
26	32,770	23,473	22,687	4,696	11,060	8,608	2,074	1,838	907	6,292	15,400	129,805
32	19,303	11,450	4,682	657	750	4,336	1,175	997	728	5,304	8,995	58,377
34	63,751	47,693	24,406	959	5,157	6,930	4,479	64	3,005	7,608	10,632	174,684
42	15,892	4,780	11,144	3,494	3,571	4,516	840	292	4,750	824	5,392	55,495
47	20,983	29,999	14,020	3,001	3,073	2,050	1,794	239	0	577	15,504	91,240
TOTALS	287,671	200,777	201,034	130,109	76,140	102,622	17,749	9,877	10,984	47,113	119,884	1,203,960

APPENDIX

Total expenditures by categories, 1974-1982,
Candidates in selected house districts

Dist	Printing	Postage	Newspaper Advtgng	Radio/ TV	Signs	Cnslt/ Pers svcs	Lists	Phone	Polls	Fund- raising	Other	Total
3-2	32,730	32,257	13,141	44,891	12,053	9,029	2,868	1,285	350	1,287	12,527	162,418
4-1	38,451	17,493	14,397	16,474	13,351	975	1,171	523	0	1,111	15,693	119,639
4-2	48,466	34,514	19,676	28,110	16,681	17,741	3,004	1,437	186	2,887	16,480	189,182
8-1	39,079	18,940	28,539	41,355	7,202	4,987	819	336	151	5,710	13,136	160,254
10-2	25,357	33,629	45,048	9,397	14,246	8,866	2,354	2,257	150	5,629	13,282	160,215
12-1	21,194	7,368	16,182	10,915	5,203	4,269	1,686	1,117	1,138	449	13,480	83,001
14-1	35,587	15,774	24,157	51,812	6,003	22,021	1,110	676	478	1,610	18,882	178,110
20-2	33,405	27,735	29,166	20,445	6,174	4,059	1,393	1,211	843	7,442	18,341	150,214
21-1	33,678	23,253	11,190	1,011	6,260	2,105	1,904	164	0	4,844	13,243	97,652
21-2	9,553	6,123	7,862	637	2,017	2,217	461	439	0	5,741	16,852	51,902
22-2	42,433	37,920	45,016	15,197	15,571	11,547	2,426	1,425	473	14,916	17,821	204,745
34-1	106,693	73,903	25,362	605	10,064	16,270	5,142	497	2,156	4,355	17,931	262,978
39-2	34,259	37,323	23,447	3,815	8,158	2,818	4,059	376	0	2,956	17,344	134,555
40-1	38,734	26,924	49,199	21,249	11,868	3,802	2,002	698	225	5,666	16,649	177,016
42-1	33,314	20,233	42,183	15,269	8,579	8,549	231	718	0	2,150	10,984	142,210
TOTALS	572,933	413,389	394,565	281,182	143,430	119,255	30,630	13,159	6,150	66,753	232,645	2,274,091

ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION SOURCES, WASHINGTON STATE
LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS, 1974-1978-1982

This report is a companion to the Public Disclosure Commission's research study, The Increased Cost of Legislative Campaigns: 1974 to 1982. In that analysis of campaign expenditures, the reports examined were those that were filed by a sample consisting of candidates for nine state senate positions and 15 state representative positions over the period of 1974 through 1982. The selection of districts and positions included in the sample was not made entirely at random. Races were selected to include some where expenditures were close to average and others that were consistently lower than average. Other races were chosen because of their increases in campaign spending between 1974 and 1982 and others because expenditure amounts were relatively stable over the 1974-1982 period. The districts represent a cross-section of the geographic and financial ranges of the legislative districts of the state.

For this analysis of campaign contribution sources, the contribution reports filed by the same sample population were used. State senators are elected to four-year terms, while the house members' terms are for two years. To maintain a sample of uniform size in this study, the elections of 1976 and 1980 were omitted, but will be included in a separate tabulation relating to house elections only.

Procedures. Monetary contributions received by candidates are reported periodically on PDC form C-3, listing the amount of each contribution, the date received, and the contributor's name and address. In-kind contributions of goods and services are reported on PDC form C-4 (Schedule B). From this information it was possible to classify all contributions in the following categories:

1. Candidates' own funds. In addition to direct contributions, whether monetary or in-kind, made by the candidate to the campaign fund, this category includes loans to the campaign fund made by the candidate or loans for which the candidate was listed on the reports as the person liable for repayment and which remained unpaid at the close of the campaign. In a few cases there is a possibility that the loans may be repaid at a later date with dollars raised after the election from other sources. In such cases, the total of dollars raised would not be changed but the character of the contribution sources would be different.

2. Other individuals. Where the contributor was identified only by name and address with no organizational affiliation included, the contribution was attributed to this category.

Thus, some of the contributions from lobbyists who may have been reimbursed by their clients or employers fell into this category and were treated as individual contributions. No attempt was made to associate individual contributors with employers, firms, or other organizations.

3. Party and caucus organizations. This includes the statutory Republican and Democratic committees, auxiliary party clubs, and the legislative caucus political committees of both parties in both houses of the legislature. The caucus committees derive a substantial portion of their money from political action committees and from lobbyists and their employers, but when the money goes from the caucus into the campaigns of individual candidates, it is identified at that point as coming to the candidates from the caucus. The four major caucus organizations combined contributed \$255,841 to legislative candidates in 1982. The caucuses received their money from business PACs, 26%; union PACs, 10%; businesses and trade associations, 26%; lobbyists, 7%; party organizations, 13%; individuals and all other sources, 18%.

4. Although the popular term "political action committee" (PAC) is not defined in the public disclosure law, this category includes those political committees, as defined in the act, which fit the commonly accepted description of political action committees. For this study, three types of such committees were identified.

- a. Business and professional committees;
- b. Union and employee-organization committees;
- c. Other political action committees.

5. Businesses.

6. Associations. This category included all other non-individual contributors, most of which were trade associations.

7. Transfers from other candidates.

Unidentified small contributions were treated as coming from individuals. Funds carried forward from previous campaigns were not included. Also excluded were "non-contribution" sources of income, principally interest, refunds, and reimbursements.

Findings. The total contributions by categories are summarized in Table 1. Individual contributors were the source of 31 percent of the campaign money in the campaigns included in the sample. Business and professional committees, with 23 percent, constituted the largest category of non-individual contributors, followed by union committees and political party organizations, each of which contributed 13 percent.

When the contributions by the three types of political action committees are combined, the total is 36.7 percent of all contributions. Again, this does not include an undetermined share of the money which came to individual candidates through the party or caucus committees.

Sixty percent of the candidates put some of their own money into their campaigns. Those candidates who financed more than 50 percent of their own campaigns were all defeated, and none of them were incumbents.

Thirteen percent of the candidates derived over half their funds from individual contributors and only one candidate in that group was an incumbent. Both Democrats and Republicans received about the same share of their total funds from individuals.

Republican candidates received 14.4 percent of their money through party organizations and Democratic candidates received 11.6 percent from party sources (Table 2). Party organization money went to challengers at a ratio of \$1.55 for each dollar that went to incumbents (Table 3).

There were 22 candidates in the sample group who received over half their contributions from political action committees. That group was almost evenly divided between the parties, 12 Democrats and 10 Republicans. Of the 22, there were 13 incumbents, 6 challengers, and 3 in open contests.

Business PACs gave \$3.31 to Republicans for every \$1 they gave to Democrats, \$3.24 to incumbents for every \$1 to challengers.

Union PACs gave \$18.26 to Democrats for every \$1 they gave to Republicans, \$1.48 to challengers for every \$1 to incumbents.

There were 31 candidates--22 percent of the sample--who received more than half their contributions from businesses or business PACs. That group included only one Democrat and only three challengers.

There were four candidates who received more than half their funds from union PACs. All four were Democrats, only one of them was an incumbent, and all four lost their elections.

There was practically no difference between senate candidates and house candidates as to contribution sources (Table 4). House candidates relied slightly more on individual contributors than did senate candidates (34 percent and 28 percent, respectively) and senate candidates received slightly more from businesses and business PACs than did the house candidates, but otherwise their patterns of sources were almost identical.

Trends. The study on legislative campaign expenditures established that the candidates of 1982 spent 3.56 times as many dollars as were spent by the candidates for the same positions in 1974. Adjusted for inflation, this still represented a real increase of 75 percent in campaign spending. For campaign spending to increase to such an extent, there must also have been an equivalent increase in contributions received. One purpose of this study is to determine how much each of the various categories of contributors increased in 1982 relative to the 1974 contributions.

Table 5 lists amounts contributed in 1974 and in 1982 by the various categories. Because it took \$204 in 1982 to buy the same amount of campaign goods and services that could be purchased for \$100 in 1974, a fourth column in Table 5 shows what is termed the "real" increase after adjusting the 1982 amount to its 1974 equivalent in purchasing power.

The table shows that all categories of contributors more than kept up with inflation. Although they account for a small proportion of the total, the largest relative increase was that recorded by political action committees in the "other" category--neither business nor union-related. Most of these could be termed ideological or issue-oriented groups and they include, for example, both pro-abortion and anti-abortion groups, the Women's Political Caucus, the Washington Environmental PAC, a disabilities PAC, an anti-gun control organization, and an out-of-state committee called Americans Against Union Control of Government.

Of the major sources of campaign money, businesses and business-related PACs lead, with real increases of 223 percent and 207 percent, respectively. The 207 percent increase figure, for example, means that the money contributed by business PACs in 1982 could be used to purchase more than three times the amount of campaign goods and services that the business PAC contributions of 1974 purchased.

Contributions by union PACs in 1974 were nearly the same as the amount contributed by business PACs that year. By 1982 business PACs were contributing almost twice as much to legislative candidates as the union PACs were contributing.

Contributions by political action committees (all types combined) increased from 30.9 percent of all contributions received in 1974 to 36.9 percent in 1982 (Table 6). Business contributions (both direct and through PACs) increased from 22.9 percent in 1974 to 35.4 percent in 1982.

Contribution sources that accounted for smaller shares of the 1982 campaigns than they had in 1974 included:

Individuals, down from 36.4 percent in 1974 to 31.5 percent in 1982;

Party organizations, down from 15.8 percent in 1974 to 11.4 percent;

Union PACs, down from 14.5 percent to 11.5 percent.

Summary. During the election years of 1974, 1978, and 1982, about 80 percent of the money spent by a sampling of candidates for the Washington state legislature came from four categories of sources: individual contributors, business and professional political action committees, union political action committees, and political party organizations, including legislative caucus committees. Another 11 percent came from businesses and trade associations. The remaining 9 percent came from the candidates, other candidates, and political action committees not associated with businesses or labor organizations.

Total contributions received in 1982 were more than four times the contributions received in 1974. Contributions by political action committees accounted for a larger share of campaign funds in 1982 than in 1974, as did direct contributions from businesses. Contributions from individuals, party organizations, and union committees were a smaller percentage of total contributions in 1982 than they had been in 1974.

Table 1.

Sources of Campaign Contributions
House and Senate Samples, 1974-1978-1982

Candidates' own funds	\$161,436 6.2%
Individuals	\$813,454 31.2%
Party and caucus organizations	\$342,384 13.1%
Political committees:	
Business and professional	\$597,491 22.9%
Union	\$343,602 13.2%
Other committees	\$14,859 0.6%
Businesses	\$254,607 9.8%
Associations	\$31,864 1.2%
Other candidates	\$51,399 2.0%
Total	\$2,611,096

Table 2.

Sources of Campaign Contributions
House and Senate Samples, 1974-1978-1982
By Political Party

	Democrats	Republicans
Candidates' own funds	99,807 8.3%	61,629 4.4%
Individuals	372,214 30.9%	441,240 31.4%
Party and caucus organizations	139,841 11.6%	202,543 14.4%
Political committees:		
Business and professional	138,752 11.5%	458,739 32.6%
Union	325,759 27.1%	17,843 1.3%
Other committees	7,664 0.6%	7,195 0.5%
Businesses	69,231 5.7%	185,376 13.2%
Associations	15,631 1.3%	16,233 1.2%
Other candidates	35,342 2.9%	16,057 1.1%
Total	\$1,204,241	\$1,406,855

Table 3.

Sources of Campaign Contributions
House and Senate Samples, 1974-1978-1982
By Candidate Status

	Incumbents	Challengers	Open
Candidates' own funds	37,587 3.3%	37,331 4.3%	86,518 14.8%
Individuals	344,947 29.9%	305,162 34.9%	163,345 27.9%
Party and caucus organizations	101,492 8.8%	157,274 18.0%	83,618 14.3%
Political committees:			
Business and professional	359,720 31.2%	111,120 12.7%	126,651 21.7%
Union	118,382 10.3%	175,302 20.1%	49,918 8.5%
Other committees	7,517 0.7%	5,517 0.6%	1,825 0.3%
Businesses	147,516 12.8%	52,497 6.0%	54,594 9.3%
Associations	22,859 2.0%	4,605 0.5%	4,400 0.8%
Other candidates	13,508 1.2%	24,333 2.8%	13,558 2.3%
Total	\$1,153,528	\$873,141	\$584,427

Table 4.

Sources of Campaign Contributions
House and Senate Samples, 1974-1978-1982
By House of Legislature

	Senate	House	Totals
Candidates' own funds	75,286 6.2%	86,150 6.1%	161,436 6.2%
Individuals	340,900 28.2%	472,554 33.7%	813,454 31.2%
Party and caucus organizations	164,828 13.6%	177,556 12.7%	342,384 13.1%
Political committees:			
Business and professional	294,518 24.3%	302,973 21.6%	597,491 22.9%
Union	167,659 13.9%	175,943 12.6%	343,602 13.2%
Other committees	5,223 0.4%	9,636 0.7%	14,859 0.6%
Businesses	129,236 10.7%	125,371 8.9%	254,607 9.8%
Associations	16,112 1.3%	15,752 1.1%	31,864 1.2%
Other candidates	15,830 1.3%	35,569 2.5%	51,399 2.0%
Total	\$1,209,592	\$1,401,504	\$2,611,096

Table 5.

Sources of Campaign Contributions:
Percent of Increase Adjusted for Inflation
24 Legislative Positions, 1974 and 1982

	1974	1982	"Real" increase
Candidates' own funds	25,549	101,203	94%
Individuals	130,498	471,862	77%
Party and caucus organizations	56,725	170,760	48%
Political committees:			
Business and professional	58,662	367,099	207%
Union	52,277	172,389	62%
Other committees	815	13,384	705%
Businesses	24,765	163,179	223%
Associations	3,810	17,357	123%
Other candidates	7,084	20,063	39%
Total	\$360,185	\$1,497,296	104%

Table 6.

Sources of Campaign Contributions
House and Senate Samples, 1974-1978-1982

Candidates' own funds	\$25,574 7.1%	\$34,659 4.6%	\$101,203 6.8%
Individuals	\$131,206 36.4%	\$210,386 27.9%	\$471,862 31.5%
Party and caucus organizations	\$56,813 15.8%	\$114,811 15.2%	\$170,760 11.4%
Political committees:			
Business and professional	\$58,487 16.2%	\$171,905 22.8%	\$367,099 24.5%
Union	\$52,372 14.5%	\$118,841 15.8%	\$172,389 11.5%
Other committees	\$815 0.2%	\$660 0.1%	\$13,384 0.9%
Businesses	\$24,079 6.7%	\$67,349 8.9%	\$163,179 10.9%
Associations	\$3,810 1.1%	\$10,697 1.4%	\$17,357 1.2%
Other candidates	\$7,084 2.0%	\$24,252 3.2%	\$20,063 1.3%
Total	\$360,240	\$753,560	\$1,497,296